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SENTINA REI PUBLICAE: CAMPAIGN ISSUES, 63 B.C.

Sentina rei publicae, 'bilge water of the ship of State' (Cicero, In Catilinam 2), is one of the expressions which make me smile when I read statements to the effect that Latin is a matter of fact, unfigurative language. Coupled with such statements as Cicero's declaration that no crime had been committed for years without Catiline's cooperation, it illustrates the fact that political oratory is and always has been one of the most highly imaginative forms of human expression. Especially is this true when financial distress causes widespread discontent with the established order. The hopes of one side, the fears of the other are so magnified by eulogy and invective that it becomes a difficult matter to determine the issues at stake. When we can hear but one side of a case, the task becomes peculiarly hard, but one to which we must accustom ourselves if we would form intelligent judgments on political situations ancient or modern. Cicero's account of Catiline is like the picture of Mr. Upton Sinclair painted by Mr. William Randolph Hearst, interesting if true¹, and we have no adequate check on Cicero's 'information'. The inconsistencies and the contradictions of the accepted account of the conspiracy are such as to tempt any student to turn his hand to the task of reconciling discordant elements, but for the present I shall confine myself to a brief review of the social and economic conditions which gave rise to the peculiar bitterness of the consular campaign which preceded the events described in the Catilinarian Orations.

Whatever the causes of their troubles, the Romans found themselves in 63 B. C. in a situation all too closely paralleled by our present depression. The symptoms of ailment in the body politic appear strikingly familiar, and the curative measures proposed 2,000 years ago will be found to bear some resemblance to those in use to-day—or rather to measures which we shrink from applying because they appear new and untried. The prescriptions of Catiline, like those of present-day reformers, may seem unscientific, but we may ask in connection with both periods if the science of political therapy does not require the use of clinical thermometers and stethoscopes. Cicero we shall find in the rôle of a family physician, unwilling or unable to recognize the feverish condition of his patient, fight-

ing with every means at his disposal to keep out the rival doctor with his antitoxins and hypodermics. You observe before I get well started that I make no claim to disguise my predilections in modern politics. I am a liberal, and I feel that this is a peculiarly opportune time to review the depression of 63 B. C. because, in the broadest sense, our own experience has made us all liberals. We recognize the fact that conditions are not as they should be, and that measures should be taken to correct them. Specifically we have seen enough of economic failure to realize that Cicero is wrong, everlastingly wrong, when he blames the bankruptcy of Italian farmers on laziness, extravagance, or poor business management. It was luck, sheer luck that you and I could supply ourselves with a good breakfast this morning, whereas millions of industrious, capable Americans either went without or accepted our publicly administered charity. The same condition existed 2,000 years ago.

If the economic problems of the Romans were similar to those we face to-day, I would call attention to the fact that their habitual manner of attacking those problems was also very much the same. They were opportunists, seeking immediate relief from present ills rather than an idealistic reconstruction of their economic life. Catiline was a reformer, not a radical, as we shall see when we examine what little we can glean from the writings of his bitter antagonist about his platform and his supporters.

The fundamental difficulty under which Italy was suffering was that of an over-developed credit structure, as we call it. A disproportionate share of the national income was going to the financier, the mortgagor, as compared with the actual producer or the nominal owner. This was especially true in agriculture, which was in a hopeless state of decline both from the standpoint of the aristocratic landlord and from that of the peasant proprietor or farm hand. In his catalogue of the disaffected elements in society, Cicero gives first place to the landlords, investors in the basic source of the nation's wealth (In Catilinam 2.18):

'The first class is made up of men who, though they are deeply in debt, still have large landed estates. But their attachment to these estates is so strong that they are unwilling to sell a portion to clear their debts, to subtract from their holdings to add to their credit. If they had been willing to do this long ago and had not tried to meet interest payments with the income from their farms, we should find them more prosperous individuals to-day and more loyal citizens.'

Yes, we should all be better off if we had done some selling in 1929 or 1930. The parallel may be applied further to the years 63 B. C. and 1934. Should we be

¹I must insert here a warning against carrying very far this or any other parallel I suggest. Mr. Sinclair is much more of a radical, more of a theorist than Catiline or any of his contemporaries. I do insist that in the summer of 63 B. C., before the election, Catiline's methods, like those of Mr. Sinclair, were methods of peaceful propaganda rather than of armed revolution. See E. G. Hardy, The Catilinarian Conspiracy, 42, 46 (Oxford, Blackwell, 1924).

better off if we had tried to sell in 1934? If what we had for sale was heavily mortgaged real estate, we should not—and our creditors would not be better off. Cicero's criticism of men who continued to live on large estates when they were really bankrupt was as unjust as similar criticisms are to-day. There simply was no market for the kind of property they held. What is more, Cicero himself knew better: he remarks in his speech on the Agrarian Law that owners of farm land all over Italy were eager to sell but could find no buyers².

The small, independent agricultural operator is represented in Catiline's staunchest and most active supporters, the veterans of Sulla, discharged some fifteen years before. In lieu of pensions or bonuses they had received small farms on which to spend their remaining years³. Since most of them had probably been brought up on farms, and had been accustomed to the discipline of the camp, it is hard to imagine that at the age of 50 or 60 they would have acquired the extravagant tastes of which Cicero accuses them (2.20): 'While they went in for building like men of wealth, enjoyed choice farm lands, large bands of slaves and elaborate banquets, they fell so deeply into debt that to extricate themselves they would have to raise Sulla from the dead'. At the worst we may surmise that they were poor managers and had been too sanguine in mortgaging their land to stock it and erect buildings. But from the ease with which they enlisted the sympathy of other discontented farmers, and from the evidence at hand about the market value of land, it appears that agriculture was in a slump, from the point of view of the small operator as well as from that of the large investor. Cicero is callously dodging issues when he blames the distress of thousands of small farmers and business men on laziness, lack of ability or extravagance, as he does in a more sweeping characterization of the disaffected elements in Italian society (21). His final advice to all these victims of depression, offered when they were flocking to Etruria to enter Catiline's camp, is the most cold-blooded exposition of the principle of *laissez faire* I have ever seen (*ibidem*):

'If these men cannot stand, let them fall, but let them do it in such a way that their nearest neighbors shall not know it has happened, let alone the State as a whole. For I do not understand why, if they cannot live with honor, they wish to die with dishonor, or why they think that death will be less painful if they meet it in a group than by themselves'.

²Compare Cicero, *De Lege Agraria* 2.68 *Conversa ratio*. Antea, cum erat a tribuno plebis mentio legis agrariae facta, continuo qui agros publicos aut qui possessiones invidiosas tenebant extimescebant. Haec lex eos homines fortunis locupletat, invidia liberat. Quam multos enim, Quirites, existimatis esse qui latitudinem possessionum tueri, qui invidiam Sullanorum agrorum ferre non possint, qui vendere cupiant, emptorem non reperiant, perdere iam denique illos agros ratione aliqua velint? If Cicero's version is correct, this apparently socialistic measure was to be used by the capitalists to unload their unprofitable, or otherwise undesirable properties on the government. The device is very popular in the United States. See Professor B. L. Ullman, *The Classical Journal* 30 (1935), 397, 398 (these remarks occur in a paper entitled *Cicero and Modern Politics*, which covers pages 385-402). On page 390 Professor Ullman cites the California Land Authority as a parallel for the use of 'public' lands for distribution to the needy. The plan, which constituted a part of the programme of Mr. Sinclair, was to use farms which came into the possession of the State through non-payment of taxes.

³See T. Rice Holmes, *The Roman Republic*, 60, 61 (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1923); Tenney Frank, *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, 1.220 (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1933).

Suicide is his suggestion for the man who fails in such a time of falling prices and vanishing profits. Society, Cicero implies, has no use for the shiftless individual who cannot hold a job for himself, or cannot make a living on a farm. The fact that jobs sometimes disappear, that wheat may go to 20 cents a bushel never occurred to him. Incidentally, it should be observed that Cicero's recommendation of suicide as an alternative to financial disgrace was made with a degree of seriousness hard for us to appreciate. Not only was there no stigma attached to self-destruction in Roman eyes, but the stigma of bankruptcy was far greater than it is to-day. At the worst, bankruptcy reduced the individual to practical slavery; at the best, it carried with it loss of social and political position, ejection from the Senate or from the class of *equites*.

By the irony of fate we find ranged with the veterans of Sulla the penniless, debtless individuals who had been evicted from their homes and their farms to make room for the veterans. Many of these had naturally joined the ranks of day laborers, whose condition elicited these sympathetic words from Sallust (*Catilina* 37.7):

'Besides, the able-bodied men who had eked out a bare existence by manual labor on farms, tempted by private and public largess, had come to prefer a life of leisure in the city to thankless toil. Like all the others they fattened on the public ills. So it is little wonder that these destitute fellows, of low character and high hopes, showed as reckless disregard for their country's welfare as for their own'.

What he calls 'thankless toil' (*ingratus labor*) was probably no toil at all: these men were Italy's unemployed. Because they were unemployed and came to Rome as the one place where they could keep body and soul together, it follows as an inevitable conclusion—for Sallust—that their characters were hopelessly warped! As to the charity on which they depended, let us hope that it was private rather than public. We have all heard of the demoralizing effects of the dole system established in ancient Rome, of the shiftlessness fostered by 'bread and circuses'. For my part, if I ever have to be demoralized in that way, I hope it will be done more thoroughly than with a bounty of 42 to 83 cents per month, which was the approximate value of the underground grain distributed to the needy of Rome in the period we are discussing⁴.

The groups I have enumerated, together with unemployed or underpaid city workers, constituted the classes to whom Catiline held out definite promises of relief. For the debtors he proposed, as you know, 'new tablets', abolition of debt. The persistence with which the measure was broached in the first century B.C. and

⁴See Tenney Frank (as cited in note 3, above), 329, 330. From the number of the recipients of the Roman grain allowances (running as high as 320,000 by the time of Julius Caesar), as well as from the low per capita expenditure, it is evident that Roman grain allowances offer no parallel to our relief. They served as a meager supplement to private charity (which must have assumed stupendous proportions) or to starvation wages in industry. In the latter case their demoralizing effect was on the employer rather than on the employee, enabling him to secure labor for less than a living wage—as has been true in parts of our own country, where men with full time employment have been compelled to supplement their incomes by public charity in order to keep their families alive.

The fact that later in the year the reactionary Cato sponsored an increase in the grain allowance to quiet the 'rabble' makes it appear probable that it was one of the live issues of the year.

the general support which could be mustered for the scaling down of debts as much as 75%, or for the complete abolition of interest⁵ indicate that the Romans did not view such acts as moves to change the basis of their economic life. Cicero himself suggests that it was the most conservative type of capitalists, the landed gentry, who hoped to gain by 'new tablets'—and it was they who had been blocked in their attempt to abolish interest in 89 B.C., blocked by the action of a popular tribune who killed the praetor who had issued the edict. I have said that the Romans were like us in their opportunism, their habit of suiting action to the immediate end to be gained without much concern for logic or ultimate results. Their readiness to disregard the property rights of creditors in time of stress is paralleled by the situation in our hard coal fields today. The operations of our 'bootleg' miners constitute as open a disregard of property rights as the Russians' seizure of landed estates; yet it is condoned by staid and respectable Americans who would hold up their hands in holy horror at the sound of the word socialism. On the other hand, I should say that Catiline's proposal for abolition of debt met with general acceptance because of a striking contrast between the Roman attitude toward bankers and our own. To the Romans the money lender was a Shylock, never a Morgan.

Another pressing issue in the year of Cicero's consulship concerned the treatment of insolvent debtors. Though Livy solemnly announces that *nexum* was abolished in 326 B. C., it appears that debt slavery had been revived⁶, that *addictio*—or suicide—was the normal consequence of insolvency. Evidence for the existence of that institution (*addictio*) and for the fact that it was made an issue in the campaign is contained in a letter quoted by Sallust (Catilina 33) as having been written by Manlius to Marcius Rex, the general sent by the Senate to subdue the insurgents after Cicero's revelations in October:

'We call gods and men to witness, general, that we have not taken up arms to overthrow our country or to endanger others, but to defend ourselves from personal harm. In our poverty and distress the cruelty and oppression of the usurers have deprived most of us of our homes, all of us of our self-respect and our fortunes. None of us has had the recourse to law allowed by our ancestors, or been permitted to retain his personal liberty after loss of his estate: such has been the cruelty of the usurers and the praetor. . . . Liberty is what we seek, which no honorable man surrenders except with his life. We conjure you and the Senate to befriend your unhappy fellow-citizens, and to restore to us the protection of the law, of which the injustice of the praetor has deprived us'.

Whether this letter is authentic or not, I feel that its subject matter is; the repeated reference to the cruelty of the praetor⁷ even smacks of campaign oratory. If

this is the case, we must recognize that Catiline's program contained at least one sound constructive feature, the abolition of debt slavery, which was finally brought about by Julius Caesar's institution of humane bankruptcy laws.

To the debtless, destitute proletarians Catiline probably held out hope in the form of agrarian legislation and an increase of the grain allowance⁸. In a non-industrial nation it is obvious that some form of home-steading project is the one practical way to attack the problem of unemployment. The Romans appear to have been quite successful in the application of such measures, both before and after the time with which we are dealing. In the first month of Cicero's consulship a very elaborate agrarian law had been proposed by the tribune, Rullus, almost certainly with the full support of Catiline and his friends⁹. Opposition to the bill appears to have been inspired almost entirely by political jealousy: the senators were unwilling to see such huge power intrusted to the commission of ten designed to carry out an elaborate program of buying and selling real estate in different parts of the Roman domain. Similar objections have been raised to many of our 'new deal' agencies, on the ground that they require too much concentration of power in the hands of a few individuals. But can adequate means of securing a livelihood be given to thousands (or millions) of men without giving somebody power to do something?

These were the minor issues in the campaign. The major issue was Catiline himself, a man who dared to espouse openly the cause of the *calamitosi* of all classes. Fortunately Cicero has given us a word picture of his appearance and his behavior (Pro Murena 49):

'We saw Catiline alert and jubilant, gay young bloods crowded around him like a chorus, encircled with a bodyguard of private detectives and dagger-men, puffed up with confidence inspired by his veterans and the promises of my colleague, his army of colonists from Arretium and Faesulae surging around him. This motley crowd was sprinkled with an element of strikingly different character, men ruined by the disastrous times of Sulla. His face was full of madness, his eyes of evil, his speech of assurance, as if he thought his consulship a certainty, stored away in his house. Murena he despised; Sulpicius he counted as a prosecutor, not a candidate, and threatened him with violence, as well as the whole State'¹⁰.

some general dissatisfaction with the administration of justice. See Hardy (as cited in note 1, above), 4, note 1.

⁵See note 4, above.

⁶See Evan T. Sage, Cicero and the Agrarian Proposals of 63 B. C., *The Classical Journal* 16 (1921), 230-236, especially 235. He makes the point that the bill was used as a political maneuver to embarrass the conservatives, and that it was not expected to pass. But, even if that was the case, it does not follow that its proponents were insincere in their desire for its passage. Their campaign for it was like agitation for the Frazer Amendment to outlaw war, or Mr. Norman Thomas's various and sundry campaigns for office.

¹⁰I. e. in the event of his being excluded from office as the result of a trial for *ambitus*. His famous threat to Cato (*ibidem*, 51) <incendium> non aqua sed ruina restincturum, was likewise made as an answer to a warning of this impending prosecution. To call such bragadoccio a 'conspiracy' is at the least a careless use of terms: see T. Rice Holmes (as cited in note 3, above), 459. See also M. Cary, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 9.493 (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1932).

As to his guilt under the terms of the law there was probably no more question than in the case of his rival Murena. It certainly required some illegal dispensation of money and food to assemble in Rome the 'army' of poor Italians who constituted Catiline's chief supporters. The various laws *de ambitu* had undoubtedly been framed with the purpose of effectively preventing such persons from exercising their 'right' of suffrage.

⁵See Professor B. L. Ullman (as cited in note 2, above), 398-400; Tenney Frank (as cited in note 3, above), 268-270.

⁶Livy 8.28; A. H. J. Greenidge, *Roman Public Life*, 127 (London, Macmillan, 1922). For Caesar's solution of the problem see Suetonius, *Julius* 42.

⁷The praetor's edict is usually thought of as having been an instrument for the liberalizing and humanizing of Roman law, but we saw above an instance of its arbitrary use to further the interests of a limited class. As a device for nullification, it could obviously be applied to good laws or precedents as well as to bad ones. In 67 B. C. the tribune Cornelius had proposed a law, *ut praetores ex edictis suis perpetuis ius dicerent*, indicating that there had been

In the eyes of the conservatives the ominous feature of the scene was the number of voters drawn to the city to elect their champion; what they heard of Catiline's speeches filled the conservatives with utter dismay. The one specific quotation from Catiline with which Cicero favors us (*ibidem*, 50) is a gem of the demagogue's art. It is to the effect that no trustworthy defender of the wretched could be found except a man who was himself in the same plight; the wretched and the afflicted should put no trust in the promises of the flourishing and the prosperous; those who wished to replenish their exhausted resources or recover the property which had been seized from them should see the debts he (Catiline) owed, as compared with his available assets, and observe the boldness with which he was inspired. The man who would be the leader and standard bearer of the destitute must himself be destitute and have thrown caution to the winds. I call this demagoguery for two reasons. In the first place Catiline must have known that the general proposition was not true, that the promises of men like the Gracchi had proven as trustworthy as human promises can be¹¹; the exploited masses have always drawn their best leaders from the exploiting classes. In the second place, what he said about his own fortunes showed an equal lack of candor. In a personal letter written to Catulus on the night of his departure from Rome in November (Sallust, *Catilina* 35.3) he admitted that he was not bankrupt, that he and his wife had ample resources to satisfy all his creditors. But matters of that sort do not count in a political campaign: the important thing is to make people believe you, and in that Catiline was eminently successful. Cicero took him at his word and taunted him with the impending ruin of his fortunes; the common people not only believed Catiline, but believed in him, and almost to a man supported him. The reactionary senators were shaking in their sandals at the prospect of having a consul who would even make promises of relief to the 'forgotten man'. A national emergency had arisen. Cicero straightway called a meeting of the Senate at which it was voted to postpone the election, and reconvene on the following day to discuss further measures. Catiline appeared at this meeting and had the effrontery to admit the allegation that he had spoken about helping the destitute. He went on to declare that there were two bodies in the State, one enervated, with a feeble head, the other strong, but with no head at all; the latter had deserved well at his hands and would not be without a head so long as he lived. 'At this the whole Senate groaned, and yet failed to pass a resolution of severity proportionate to the brazenness of his behavior'. What Cicero wanted was a decree of the death sentence for such rank heresy; what he got was a sentence of political death procured by the simple expedient of further postponing the election¹². This served the double purpose of disposing of Catiline's out-of-town supporters and of

giving the consul time to organize a campaign of fear. However, even these advantages were not sufficient to overbalance Catiline's popularity with the people, and it was only on the day of the election that the tide was turned. Cicero asserted that he had heard of a conspiracy of Catiline's followers to gather a large armed force in the Campus Martius with the purpose of killing Cicero as he presided at the election. So, when the day arrived, Cicero went down to the voting place with a strong body guard, wearing a big conspicuous breastplate (*ibidem*, 52), 'not to protect myself—for I knew Catiline would strike not for my chest or abdomen, but for my head or throat—but that all loyal citizens should observe it and rush to lend assistance and protection when they saw their consul in danger—which was just what happened'. To my mind that is a damaging confession from a professed believer in democratic institutions. He was acting, putting on a show for political effect. What is more, no plot ever developed, no arrests were made, no evidence was found sufficient to warrant calling a meeting of the Senate. Cicero was probably justified in making use of a body guard¹³, as do all important executives to-day; and at that particular time the feelings of the crowd were not softened by the recollection of Cicero's recent ruse to defeat the popular will. But what danger he experienced was from irresponsible individuals rather than from an organized plot carried out under Catiline's direction. But at any rate Cicero's makebelieve won the day: he was thoroughly justified in his later boast that he had personally kept his rival from the consulship, since the duly qualified voters of Rome had nothing whatever to do with it.

Catiline's political career was ended, the career of a brilliant man who saw the social ills of his people and made a sincere effort to remedy them. Whether he was a self-deluded visionary or a broadminded statesman we can hardly judge from the evidence supplied by his enemies. On the other hand, it is all too easy to visualize the causes of unrest which still afflict a world which has learned little of social justice and practised less.

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LUCIAN AND FIELDING

It is a plausible statement to say that Fielding was influenced by the work of Lucian of Samosata, the Greek satirist of the second century, but concrete evidence for this assertion in the shape of direct imitation or parallel passages has not been presented. In the sense that all satire grows out of a common motive, the desire to expose to ridicule the weaknesses, the vices, and the foibles of mankind, Fielding is closely akin to Aristophanes, Juvenal, Lucian, Cervantes, Swift, Lesage, and Voltaire. Like all great writers, however, Fielding borrowed much which was completely absorbed into his own work, so that accurate identification of the borrowing is next to impossible. I intend, nevertheless, to gather together here what evidence lies at

¹¹In all fairness it should be added that Catiline himself gave his life for the cause of his less favored fellow-citizens, as he saw it.

¹²There is a great divergence of opinion about the date originally set for the election and the date on which it was finally held. See T. Rice Holmes (as cited in note 3, above), 258, 259, 458-461. Mr. Holmes sets the dates as September 24 or 25, and early October.

¹³And as Catiline did during the campaign. See *Pro Murena* 49. cited in the text, above.

hand to substantiate more thoroughly than has hitherto been done the fondness for Lucian attributed in a vague fashion by certain scholars to Henry Fielding¹.

Fielding's classical learning, ridiculed as late as the time of Thackeray, has been revindicated. Both Austin Dobson and Professor Cross have shown by referring to the size and the contents of his library, larger even than Dr. Johnson's, that he was one of the most learned of eighteenth century English men of letters². An examination of Fielding's personal library, sold at auction in 1755, will quickly reveal a singular taste for the works of Lucian. He owned no less than nine complete sets of Lucian's writings, in Greek, Latin, French, and English, which must have been his constant companions³. We know, furthermore, that Fielding planned, with the Reverend Mr. William Young, a translation of Lucian. This, however, was never completed, if, indeed, it was ever begun⁴.

This absorbing interest in the works of Lucian appears as an influence upon Fielding, as both Professor Baker and Professor Cross point out⁵, chiefly in certain of Fielding's Miscellanies. Of these, *A Journey from This World to the Next* has been cited as showing, preeminently, the Lucianic influence. The statement has been recorded that Fielding made use of Lucian's *True History* in writing the *Journey*. This is true chiefly for the long and rather tedious episode of Julian the Apostate, who recounts his adventures and his travels as Lucian does in the *True History*, but with much less success. The adventures of Lucian, told in what is by no means his best piece of work, are so incredible that one laughs at them in spite of their grotesque exaggeration, but Fielding's account of Julian is, in large part, merely dull, and he winds up the *Journey* quite lamely with the introduction of Anne Boleyn. Certain similarities are likewise apparent between Fielding's *Journey* and Lucian's *Dialogues of the Dead*, *Dialogues of the Gods*, and *Dialogues of the Sea-*

*Gods*⁶. Hermes is, of course, the conductor to the underworld both in Fielding's *Journey* and in Lucian's *Dialogues*. There are cheated millionaires and misers in both, who provide excellent opportunity for much wry philosophy (Lucian's *Dialogues of the Dead* XXVII and *Voyage to the Lower World*, 239⁷; Fielding, *Journey*, 13). Alexander appears in the *Journey* (22, 26; compare *Dialogues of the Dead* XII, XIII, XIV). Several of the dead tell how they came to their deaths, as Callidemides (*Dialogues of the Dead* VII), Cnemon (VIII); Crates tells of the deaths of Moerichus of Corinth and his cousin Aristetas (XI); with these accounts one may compare *Journey*, first part of Chapter II, on the smallpox as the cause of death, and Lucian, *Charon*, 178-179. Fielding crosses Cocytus in a boat, as do the shades in Lucian's *Dialogues of the Dead*; Minos is judge of the dead in both writers' imaginary visits to the lower regions, and the office of kings is heartily condemned by both satirists (*Journey*, 31; Lucian, *Charon*, 178-180). To both Lucian and Fielding mortal pride has but one end: all in Hades are equal, rich and poor alike (Lucian, *Voyage to the Lower World*, 239, and *Dialogues of the Dead*, *passim*); pride is humbled, yet the dead behave almost exactly as they did in life, a significant and essential element in this sort of mortuary fun-making. Naturally, most of the wit would disappear completely if the shades of the dead failed to preserve their individuality completely. Homer, Alcaeus, and Sappho make an appearance in Fielding's *Journey*, 37; Fielding places figures contemporary with himself—e.g. Madame Dacier, Pope, and Addison—opposite ancient figures, in a manner somewhat different from that of Lucian, who restricts himself to characters mythological or to persons who have been dead a long time.

There are at least two more bits in Fielding's Miscellanies which require attention in regard to their relation to the *Dialogues of Lucian*. They are *A Dialogue Between Alexander the Great and Diogenes the Cynic* and *An Interlude between Jupiter, Juno, Apollo, and Mercury*. The first is probably inspired by two *Dialogues of the Dead*, XIII (*Diogenes, Alexander*), and XXIV (*Diogenes, Mausolus*). Compare the passage in Fielding, *A Dialogue Between Alexander the Great and Diogenes the Cynic*, 274, beginning "... Thou dost speak vainly in contempt of a power which no other man ever yet arrived at. . .", and the passage in Lucian, *Dialogues of the Dead*, XXIV, 145 (*Mausolus*), 'Sinopean, to begin with, I was a king'. It must be admitted that here, as elsewhere, Fielding's touch is heavier, his moralism more emphatic than Lucian's. *An Interlude between Jupiter, Juno, Apollo, and Mercury* is a rather more carefully dramatized skit which presents some of the same features as appear in

¹See Wilbur Lucius Cross, *The History of Henry Fielding*, 1, 394, 402, 424 (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1918), and Ernest Albert Baker, *The History of the English Novel*, 4, 104, 178 (London, H. F. and G. Witherby, 1930). Francis Greenleaf Allinson, in his *Lucian, Satirist and Artist* (Boston, Marshall Jones and Co., 1926 [now New York, Longmans, C. K. & Co.]), says nothing of Fielding's debt to Lucian in that part of his brief and popular study where he might have been expected to mention it: Chapter VIII, 2, ii, *Lucian's Legatees, Reminiscences, Imitations, Parallels*, 133-187.

²See Frederic Thomas Blanchard, *Fielding the Novelist: A Study in Historical Criticism*, 496-499 (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1926).

³See "A Catalogue of the Entire and Valuable Library of Books of the Late Henry Fielding, Esq; which (by order of the Administrator) Will be Sold by Auction by Samuel Baker at his House in York Street, Covent Garden, on Monday, Feb. the 10th and the three Following Evenings for the Benefit of his Wife and Family". This catalogue lists 653 items, a total of 1,298 volumes. The copies of Lucian are listed on pages 3, 4, 9, 12, 13, 18, 20. A photostatic copy of this catalogue is in the Library of the University of Illinois. See also "A Catalogue of the Law and Miscellaneous Library of Henry Fielding, Esq., sold in London on February 10th-11th, 1755, edited and rearranged by Frederick S. Dickson" (New York, 215 West 101st St., 1913). On pages 53-54 of this Catalogue, in items 391-399, the copies of Lucian are named in an alphabetical arrangement.

⁴Cross, 3, 324 (see note 1, above), in the Bibliography lists "Proposals for Printing by Subscription A New Translation into English Of the Works of Lucian from the Original Greek: With Notes Historical, Critical, and Explanatory, By Henry Fielding, Esq.; And The Rev. Mr. William Young. Advertisement in The Covent Garden Journal, no. 27, June 27, 1752". No part of this translation, if it was made, was ever printed.

⁵Baker, 4, 178 (see note 1, above); Cross, 1, 394, "... In a similar vein but with more use of 'A True Story', he now wrote 'A Journey from This World to the Next', which surpasses in humour and irony all other attempts by himself or any one else to modernize Lucian".

⁶All references to *A Journey from This World to the Next* are made to the edition by George Saintsbury (London, J. M. Dent, 12 volumes); Volume XI (1893) contains this work. The rest of the Miscellanies are referred to in the edition by Sir Leslie Stephen, Volume 6 (London, Smith, Elder and Co., 1882). Lucian's works are cited in the translation by Henry Watson Fowler and Francis George Fowler (London, Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford 1905, 4 volumes). The three sets of *Dialogues* mentioned are contained in Volume I; *Charon* is also to be found in this volume. The *True History* is contained in Volume II.

⁷These and like references below are to pages of the works named in note 6, above.

Lucian's Dialogues of the Gods, except that Lucian does not have more than three interlocutors in these particular dialogues, save in the Judgment of Paris (I. 78-85). In general, therefore, we may conclude that Fielding follows Lucian quite closely in his less well-known prose works, to the extent shown above. The type of wit Fielding shows is not as delightful here as in his novels, nor is his irony as complete and as sustained as it is in Jonathan Wild; but Lucian is a guide with whom very few even among the great could hope to keep pace, and Fielding has made no very determined attempt to do so, being content to steep himself in Lucian's works and to allow a chiefly unconscious influence to make itself felt.

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MR. JAMES NORMAN HALL AND HOMER

I do not know whether Mr. James Norman Hall, or his coworker, is familiar with Homer; I do not know whether in several passages in *Mutiny on the Bounty*¹ Mr. Hall consciously or unconsciously imitates Homer, or whether his description, because of its simplicity and naturalness as well as its accuracy, merely coincides with Homer's description of similar occurrences.

I have in mind certain passages from *Mutiny on the Bounty*, pages 174, 183, in an account of sailing-canoes in the South Seas.

She came on fast under her press of sail, rounded to smartly inside, and dropped her stone anchor with a resounding plunge. The sails were furled while paddlers brought her stern to the land, and a man sprang ashore to make fast her stern-line to a cocoanut stump.

We paddled westward, skirting the long reefs of Pare, till the wind made up, and then, spreading our sails, we raced down the channel between Tahiti and Eimeo, with a fresh breeze at north-northeast.

The southeast wind fell away an hour before sunset, as we were entering a wide passage through the reefs. The sails were furled, and, with a score of paddlers on each side, we rode into a magnificent landlocked bay.

With these compare Homer, who is also describing the manoeuvring of a small vessel fitted both for sailing and for rowing (*Iliad* 1.432-436, 477-483).

'But when they had come within the very deep harbor, they furled their sails and stowed them in the black ship, and they lowered the mast into the mast-crutch, letting it down quickly by means of the fore-stays; and they rowed the ship to its anchorage. Then they cast the mooring stones, and made fast the stern-cables'.

'And when early-born, rosy-fingered dawn appeared, then indeed they set out for the broad camp of the Achaeans. And the far-worker Apollo sent them a following wind. And they set up the mast and spread aloft the white sail. And the wind filled the middle of the sail, and about the stem the bubbling wave gurgled merrily as the ship went along. And it ran over the waves accomplishing its course'.

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¹James Norman Hall and Charles Bernard Nordhoff, *Mutiny on the Bounty* (Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1933).

LIGHT ON AN ANCIENT PAPYRUS

Some years ago I undertook to interpret an ancient fragment of papyrus concerning fishing and the sale of fish¹. It tells of bringing in fish by night and the prohibition of selling those fish until daylight. Police authority of some kind is provided to see that the directions are obeyed and to ensure the possibility of sleep and rest for people in general. Here is the essential part of the passage:

'They <the sellers of fish> shut up their catch in their own store houses. And it was necessary for their wives to string the fish, in order that they might sell the string during the day without confusion; and that they might not have the opportunity to sell during the night, I fastened the doors with ropes and allowed their wives to string until early morning; and early in the morning they sold the fish. . . . But what is brought into the city during the night do not sell until dawn'.

In *The Atlantic Monthly* for July, 1934, in an article entitled *The Last Leg, From Med to Mum V*, James Norman Hall is telling about fishermen who brought tuna fish into port at Tahiti by night in the early morning hours:

I was glad to observe that there was no glut of fish in that morning's market. A small crowd gathered about the load of fine tuna Tihoti and his mates were now hanging up for display. No sales would be permitted till the policeman rang his bell at half-past five.

Similar regulations are enforced in many of our cities to-day. Such regulations with regard to fish are particularly necessary in our seaside cities where fish and shrimp may be carried about the streets for sale. This has long been a custom in the City of Charleston, and old inhabitants never forget the cries of the vendors of shrimp and fish. Those who are trying to sleep are protected to some extent by the city ordinance, which provides that "It shall not be lawful for any huckster, vendor or other person to cry fish, shrimp, vegetables or other commodities in the streets of Charleston for sale before six o'clock in the morning or after nine o'clock at night".

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CAMPORUM FORMIDO

In *Fronto* (page 151 of Naber's¹ edition) we read as follows:

Sed non ea sunt ista quae possis contemnere: possis sane non amare. Ut olim Crassus tristis risum oderat;^{2a} ut nostra hic memoria Crassus lucem fugitavit^{2a}; ut nostra itidem memoria vir consularis campos formidabat, pomtinum campum. . . .

Mr. C. R. Haines^{3b} adapts a marginal note in the manuscript and reads: . . . Pomptinum Campum multaque loca clausa lecticula praetervehebatur. This reading recalls a passage in Cicero (*De Divinatione* 2.77), of which Dr. Eugene S. McCartney has surely given the correct interpretation²: when he was traveling,

¹See *Classical Philology* 24 (1929), 164-168.

^{2a}Samuel Adrianus Naber, M. Cornelii Frontonis et M. Aurelii Imperatoris Epistulae (Leipzig, Teubner, 1867).

^{2b}In place of these semicolons I should print a comma. C. K. >.

³Charles Reginald Haines, *The Correspondence of Marcus Cornelius Fronto* (The Loeb Classical Library, two volumes, 1919, 1920). For the passage under consideration see 2.76.

²Compare *Classical Philology* 30 (1935), 106, and note 69.

Marcellus, the conqueror of Syracuse, used to draw the curtains of his litter, ne impediretur auspiciis, i.e. in order to avoid the risk of 'obviation'.

But in the case of Fronto's *vir consularis* no such explanatory clause is given. The fact that he is mentioned in the same context as the Crassi must mean that he is to be regarded as the third of a trio of eccentrics, and that, if he journeyed in the same manner as Marcellus, he did so because he was obsessed by a dread of large level areas. This *camporum formido* is known in modern parlance by the Greek equivalent^{2a} which I once ventured³ to pin to a passage in the hypochondriac Libanius. A concise account of the evidence on this point will, I believe, throw some light on the nature of the peculiar mental condition touched upon so briefly by Fronto.

Libanius tells us (Oratio 1.141) that in his fiftieth year, and at the time of one of his recurrent headaches, he began to fear the crowds in the streets, so that he shunned the business district of Antioch. The public baths seemed to him appallingly large, and all houses except his own filled him with alarm. His eyes grew clouded and his breathing constricted, while he was seized with vertigo and constantly dreaded that he was going to fall. He was still able, however, to continue his teaching activities, either at home, stretched out on his couch, or else lying on a cot⁴ in his schoolroom, but there was some hazard in being carried to either of these places. Meanwhile the approach of any friend was an annoyance, and, whenever he stepped out of his house, he felt as adventurous as one who is about to embark on a voyage (Oratio 1.142).

This passage was called to the attention of Dr. Theophile Raphael, a psychiatrist of the University of Michigan medical faculty, who kindly offered a few comments which are quoted with his permission.

The possibility of migraine suggests itself in this relation. To some extent, at least, it is conceivable that an agoraphobic response might be reactionary to a basic migrainous situation. Further, aside from such specific association, it would be quite within the limits of expectability that the delicately-balanced, hypersensitive type of nervous system implicit in migraine might manifest itself on the psychic level by such reactions, among others, as agoraphobia. Migraine is closely related to epilepsy, and a very severe attack of it is practically a convulsion. The vertigo and the tendency to fall also call to mind the possibility of what is technically known as 'Menière's disease', a condition which sometimes appears in late middle life, and involves a disturbance of the static sense⁵.

^{2a}Dr. Raphael (see the text, two paragraphs below) assures me that agoraphobia is recognized by psychiatrists both as a term and as a phenomenon. He cites Richard Henry Hutchings, *A Psychiatric Word-Book*, under Agoraphobia: "Morbidity anxiety when in wide open spaces" (Utica, New York, The State Hospital Press, 1935).

³Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association 64 (1933), Proceedings, liv.

⁴It may be noted, with reference to the mode of transportation employed by Fronto's contemporary, that L. Petit, *Essai sur la Vie et la Correspondance du Sophiste Libanius*, 228 (Paris, A. Durand, 1866), considered the *σκήμους* to be a sort of litter ("chaise à porteur"). Perhaps this was a safe inference from the context, if not from the word taken by itself. In the case of one so afflicted the choice of a litter was clearly well-advised; when he was in better health, Libanius moved about the city on horseback (Oratio 1.183, 216).

⁵Compare Hutchings (see note 2a, above), under Menière's Disease: "An inflammatory disease of the semi-circular canals of the

In his interesting dissertation (Princeton)⁶, Dr. O'Brien-Moore discussed the use of black hellebore as prescribed by Hippocrates (De Affectionibus Internis 48) for "a very curious disease involving hallucinations". After quoting some remarkable illustrations of these⁷, he continues, "There are a number of physical symptoms, e. g., pain in the head, chills and fever, and impairment of sight and hearing^{7a}, and as the malady progresses, mental symptoms as well". The patient is also given to falling involuntarily. . . . Finally, "this odd disease usually attacks its victims under equally odd circumstances- *προσπίπτει μάλιστα ἐν ἀλλοθήμεναι, καὶ ἢν ποὺ ἐρήμην ὁδὸν βαδίζῃ, καὶ ὁ φόβος αὐτὸν λάβῃ ἐκ φάσματος*". The statement that the fear comes 'especially when he is abroad, and whenever he is walking along a deserted road', seems to point again to one of the 'phobias of situation'⁸, although it would be incautious, perhaps, to conclude from the other similarities noted between the two cases that Hippocrates was also describing a victim of migraine.

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A NOTE ON EURIPIDES, HIPPOLYTUS 732-734

Ἥλιβάτοις ὑπὸ κενθμῶσι γεινοίμαν,
ἵνα με πετεῦσσαν ἀγέλησι
ποταναῖς θεὸς ἐνθελίῃ¹.

With Professor Murray most editors (including Wecklein, Nauck, and Wilamowitz) read *ἵνα με* in 733; Hartung reads *πετεῦσσαν ὄρνιν εἴθε θεὸς ἐν με*; Gloël prefers *πετεῦσσαν ἢ τιν' ὄρνιν θεὸς ἐν με*; van Herwerden proposed *χθονὸς ἢ πετεῦσσαν ὄρνιν θεὸς ἐν με* (he is followed here by Méridier^{1a}). Mahaffy and Bury² wrote of this passage:

ἵνα με must be spurious, as it is not sense to say, 'would that I were in the caves of the earth, and may the god make me there a bird among the winged herds'.

internal ear. Chief symptom is vertigo". A character in Wycherley's comedy, *The Country Wife*, Act IV, Scene I, exclaims: "... But what a devil is this honour! 'Tis sure a disease in the head, like the megrim or falling-sickness, that always hurries people away to do themselves mischief". My former use of the word *cephalaea* (Classical Philology 30 [1935], 156, note 23), adopted for reasons set forth in *The American Journal of Philology* 66 (1935), 349, was sufficiently accurate so far as the ancient terminology is concerned, for *ἡμικρανία*, from which the word *migraine* is derived, meant anciently a pain localized in a part of the head, a feature which Libanius nowhere emphasizes. But my counsels of despair at the possibility of identifying his ailment may now be set aside, at least for his fiftieth year.

⁶Ainsworth O'Brien-Moore, *Madness in Ancient Literature*, 31-32 (Weimar, R. Wagner Sohn, 1924).

⁷Compare Libanius's illusion (Oratio 1.141) that the winds were going to carry off the city and sweep it into the ocean.

^{7a}See note 5, above.

⁸Compare Isador Henry Coriat, *Abnormal Psychology*, 353 (New York, Moffat, Yard, and Company, 1917).

¹The text here given is that of Professor Gilbert Murray (Oxford Classical Text Series, 1901). I translate this passage as follows: 'Would I were deep in some lofty mountain cavern (retreat), where a god might make me a winged bird among the flying flocks'. In his edition of Euripides, *Hippolytus*, page 82 (Ginn, 1904), Professor Joseph E. Harry translates by "O for a shelter in some dizzy eyrie, where some god should make me a winged bird among the tribes of the air!"

^{1a}Louis Méridier, *Euripide*, 2.57 (Paris, Budé, 1927). He translates thus: "... Puissé-je plonger aux inaccessibles profondeurs de la terre, ou qu'un dieu me range, oiseau ailé, parmi les bandes qui volent".

²John Pentland Mahaffy and John Bagnell Bury, edition of the *Hippolytus*, 84 (London, Macmillan, 1889). They bracket *ἵνα με*.

Professor Murray³, in a footnote on this passage in his popular history of Greek literature, says, "The cavern in question was in the moon. Cf. Apollonius, *Arg.* iii.1212, and Plutarch, *On the Face in the Moon* § 29, *Hym. Dem.* 25".

This cannot be correct. No particular cave is designated; the more probable reference is to some lofty cave in the earth. An examination of the passages Professor Murray cites does not lend proof to his statement. The three references he gives are all connected with Hecate, but in Euripides's choral swan-song for Phaedra there is not the slightest evidence that Hecate's cave in the moon is intended. Messrs. Allen and Sikes, in a note on the passage from the Homeric Hymn to Demeter 25⁴, do not justify Professor Murray's use of this corroboration; Apollonius Rhodius gives no more support. Plutarch⁵, in speaking of hollows in the moon, writes, 'Now, of these, the greatest they call the gulf of Hecate, where the souls punish or are punished according to the evils they suffered or did whilst they were Daemons'. Surely the chorus in the Hippolytus would not wish to fly from one vale of tears to another in the moon; this is almost as though one sought in Dante's Inferno refuge from mortal sorrows.

The truth is that we have here an example of a poetic sentiment frequently expressed in almost the same

terms elsewhere in Euripides⁶. There is absolutely no need to drag in either the moon or Hecate. It has long been recognized that the first word, *ἡλιβάτοις*, and the first two words of 733 present the chief problems of emendation and interpretation here. The scholiast on this passage throws some light upon *ἡλιβάτοις*. We have in the *lemmata* to N A B the following significant words: *ἡλιβάτοις*: ἀντὶ τοῦ βαθυτάτοις, *ἡλιβατον* γὰρ οὐ μόνον τὸ ὑψηλόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ βαθύ, οὗ ἐστὶν ἀλιτεῖν τῆς βάσεως. *κενθμῶσι* δὲ ἐρήμοις τόποις, *κεκρυμμένοις*, πάσης *ξυντυχίας ἀνθρώπων χωρίς*. Nowhere does the scholiast mention caves in the moon. It is of interest to add here the note by Mahaffy and Bury⁷, which gives force to the view that *ἡλιβατος* is not always used of lofty places:

ἡλιβατος, used originally as epithet of rocks, meant 'washed and smoothed by rain,' and so 'naked, steep.' Hence it came to be used in the sense of 'inaccessible' and be applied to caverns. The word is connected with *λείβω*, 'pour', Lat. *lubricus*, 'slippery, smooth,' and the words *λίψ*, *ἄλιψ*, meaning *rock*. The derivations given by Liddell and Scott are not to be accepted.

None of the places mentioned in this entire chorus—the cave in the earth, the Eridanus river, the shores of the Hesperides, the regions of Atlas and Hesperus—is anywhere except on *terra firma*⁸. Furthermore, if van Herwerden's *χθονὸς ἥ* be accepted in place of the corrupt *ἵνα με*, the interpretation 'lofty caves in the earth' or 'inaccessible depths in the earth' (as on a mountain side) is made incontrovertible.

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³Gilbert Murray, *A History of Ancient Greek Literature*, 273 (New York, Appleton, 1897; reprinted 1927). In his translation, however, 39 (New York, Longmans: undated), Professor Murray says nothing of the cave in the moon: "... Could I take me to some cavern for my hiding, In the hill-tops where the Sun scarce hath trod...."

⁴Thomas William Allen and Edward Ernest Sikes, edition of the Homeric Hymns (London, Macmillan, 1904): "... cf. Apoll. Arg. I 1213 *κενθμῶν ἐξ ὑπάρτων* (of Hecate) <.> No particular cave is meant."

⁵Plutarch's *Morals*, Translated from the Greek by Several Hands, Corrected and Revised by William Watson Goodwin; *On the Face Appearing in the Orb of the Moon*, § 29, 5.289 (Boston, Little, Brown and Co., 1874).

⁶Hippolytus 836, 1290-1292, Hercules Furens 1157, Ion 796, 1238-1240, Hecuba 1100, Medea 1296-1297.

⁷See page 84 of the work named in note 2, above.

⁸Compare *χθών* in 751.